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NSC BRIEFING

8 January 1954

INDOCHINA

- I. French command in Indochina becoming apprehensive over large enemy buildup around Dien Bien Phu in northeast Tonkin.
 - A. Navarre had initially hoped for an enemy attack on this strongpoint as presenting opportunity to inflict costly defeat.
 - B. But enemy troops in the area and apparently en route (equivalent of over 3 divisions) now more than double the French garrison of 12 battalions.

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- C. French estimate VM will be ready to attack soon after 15 January.
 - 1. French maintain
 superiority of fire
 power but mountainous
 terrain enables Viet
 Minh to bring its
 artillery to bear
 without exposing itself to counterbattery
 fire.
 - 2. The <u>Crachin</u>, an annual period of low ceilings, fog and drizzle which arrives in mid-January will hamper air operations.

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- additionally by reports of 37mm antiaircraft pieces near Dien Bien Phu which they fear may prove effective against the transport planes, which are their only means of supply.
- II. Loss of strongly reinforced Dien Bien

 Phu would have a devastating effect on

 French prestige in Indochina and possibly on French-Vietnamese troop morale.
 - A. Elimination of the garrison would more than offset the reinforcements totaling 9 battalions that Navarre has obtained from France and North Africa.

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- B. Little doubt that Viet Minh could take the French strongpoint if willing to pay the cost.
- III. Plenty of indications that Viet Minh are aiming at Dien Bien Phu, but it still might by-pass it and invade northern Laos, taking the important French base of Xieng Khouang, and the royal capital of Luang Prabang.
 - A. Meanwhile, French report they
 have made first important contact with VM invasion force in
 Central Laos; claim to have
 routed Viet Minh troops in
 approximately battalion
 strength 30 miles north of

Tha bels

Seno.

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- 1. Main enemy force of six battalions in Thakhek area probably no real threat to French at Savannakhet, now raised to 13 battalions by airlift of five paratroop battalions from delta.
- 2. French hope shortly to eliminate the force and reopen surface communication to northern Laos.
- IV. Present Viet Minh strategy apparently designed to force dispersal of French reserves.
 - A. Hurried dispatch by French of 5 battalions to Savannakhet as well as reinforcement of Dien Bien Phu proof it meeting with success.

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- B. Dispersal of large part of
 French reserves leaves Viet
 Minh base areas near delta
 immune to attacks Navarre
 had planned.
- V. On political side, Bao Dai recently ordered formation of a new cabinet, replacing that of Nguyen Van Tam.
 - A. Buu Loc, prince of imperial family and cousin of Bao Dai designated to form government but is encountering difficulties in getting support of important political groups.

 Phan Huy Quat, present
 Defense Minister, will probably be asked to form government if Buu Loc fails.

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- B. Outgoing premier Tam had proFrench reputation and was
 appointed by Bao Dai year and
 a half ago when Bao Dai believed it essential to appoint
 man who could inspire French
 confidence.
- C. New premier will be man who can deal diplomatically with the French but one who, unlike all earlier premiers, is not French citizen and has no record of yielding to French pressure.
- D. Moreover, both candidates are from Annam, signifying shift toward genuinely national figure rather than front man from Cochinchina landowning and commercial interests as in past.

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- E. Shift is phase of Bao Dai's strategy of setting up progressively more nationalistic governments but not so strongly nationalistic as to upset delicate French-Vietnamese relationship or to pose threat to Bao Dai's personal position.
- F. Not likely any new government would seriously consider negotiations with Ho Chi Minh, although there are rumors Buu Loc is prepared to do so.